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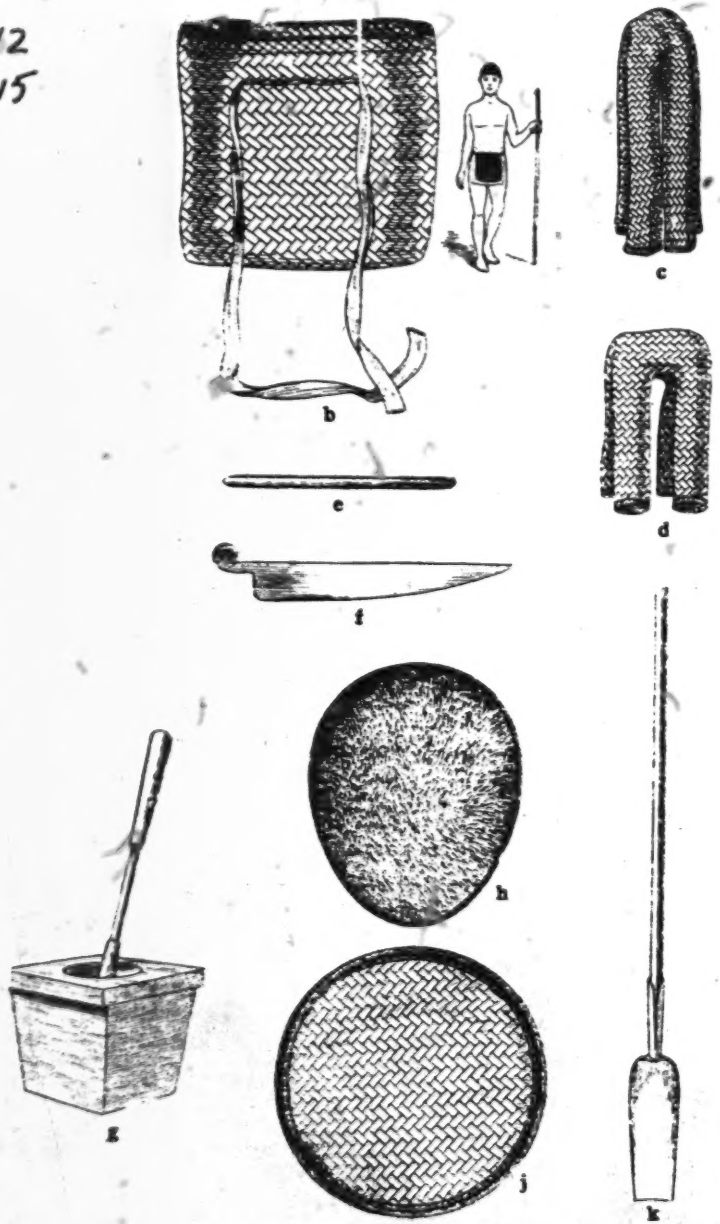

FIG. 41. Cultivation and Preparation of Rice. a, Dibble; b, Sowing Basket; c, d, Baskets for Bean Seed; e, Flail; f, Reaping Knife; g, Mortar and Pestle; h, j, Winnowing Trays; k, Spade.

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passes over a notch in the tip of the drill shaft (Fig. 5, f). In fire making, one man holds the bed while another pumps the drill up and down with both hands. No pressure is applied to the upper end of the drill shaft. The time required to produce a spark is about the same as with the ordinary drill. Pump fire drills are also used by the Sihanaka and probably by other tribes, but they are nowhere common. 372

At the present time flint and steel is by far the commonest fire making appliance throughout Madagascar. The Tanala say that the historic clans, as distinct from the aborigines, have always used it. The striker is shaped somewhat like an adze blade, the narrow upper end being bent down over the back to form a grip (Fig. 4, d1). A variety of stones is used: flint, chalcedony, jasper and even quartz crystal. The tinder is made from charred cotton or cotton cloth. It is carried in the tip of a horn, the open end being provided with a tight stopper of gourd shell (Fig. 4, d3). The entire outfit is usually carried in a small box of wood or rawhide, in a horn, or in a hollow hide belt. Tinder horns and belts are used by all the Madagascar tribes, but the wooden tinder boxes appear to be limited to the Tanala. Nearly all of them are manufactured by the Zafimaniry division, which trades them to the neighboring clans. At least 80 per cent of the boxes conform to a single pattern (Fig. 5, b). The body has a long oval section, with flat, squarely cut ends. It is hollowed from a single block of rather soft, light colored wood which exhibits a beautiful curling grain. The bottom, in the form of a long pointed oval, is made separately and inset, being held in place by pins of wood, bone or horn. It is usually of red wood. The cover is made from a moderately hard red wood and fits closely over a sort of sleeve or projection, so that the joint is almost watertight. Its outer surface is flush with the body. It is surmounted by a comb, the width of the flat ends of the box, which is notched along the upper edge. Holes are pierced horizontally through the ends of the body a short distance below the lid and through the base of the comb near either end. A long cord passing through these holds the cover on and also serves for suspension. In a second and much rarer type one side of the box is flat and the other convex (Fig. 5, c). The lid may have a low comb along the flat side, but usually has a low flange running across the flat side and extending forward for a short distance on the curved side, at either end. A single double box of this type was collected and a modification in which the body of the box was crescent shaped in section was seen. In a third type, which 372 415 [438]

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372 415 [531] is extremely rare, the body of the box is flat on one side and convex on the other and tapers to a point at the bottom. Tinder boxes are rarely if ever carved, but those of the first type are sometimes decorated with inset studs of metal or bone. They are always finely finished and with use and repeated oiling acquire a high polish. When traveling they are worn hanging on the breast or, rarely, at the belt.

281 415 Rawhide tinder boxes are rarely used by the northern Tanala, only two examples having been seen. They are made from long, rectangular strips of hide with the hair removed. While the hide is still soft, two-thirds of the strip is folded back upon itself and sewn together along the edges with a thong, forming a pouch. The remaining third is then bent down over this as a cover. Slits are cut in the rear of the pouch, or strips are sewn on, so that it can be strung [531] on the belt. The flap is usually decorated with tooled designs (Fig. 5, a). This type seems to be peculiar to the Tanala, but hide tinder boxes of a different form are used by the Bara and other southern tribes.

321 415 The horn tinder boxes are made from sections of cow horn 8 to 18 inches long. The edges of the open end are cut off smoothly except at the inside of the horn's curve, where a rectangular projection about 1 inch wide and ½ inch to 1 inch long is left. An oval piece of wood, which has on one side a projection corresponding to that on the horn, is fitted into the opening and fastened solidly with wooden or horn pins. In the center of this there is an oval opening about 1 inch in diameter which is closed by a close fitting cork or stopper. This stopper is attached to the projection on the side of the horn by a short piece of cord. Heavier cords are attached to the horn at both ends so that the whole can be worn as a belt, the curve of the horn fitting against the wearer's side. The cords [531] are of braided raffia (Fig. 5, e). Such boxes are rarely decorated but in one specimen the end of the horn has been cut into a series of knobs. Similar boxes are used by practically all the Madagascar tribes.

281 415 The hollow belts are made from the skin of a cow's tail drawn off whole. The skin is dried and flattened, the hair being left on. The smaller end is sewn up and a loop of hide attached. The larger end is pierced near either side. A wide thong is split for several inches and the ends of the split portion passed through the holes in the belt and fastened to either end of a flat strip of bamboo. The other end of this thong and the loop sewn to the smaller end of the

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FIG. 8. Tinder Boxes, Meat Hooks and Toasting Forks. a, Rawhide Tinder Box; b, c, Wooden Tinder Boxes; d, Belt Tinder Box; e, Horn Tinder Box; f, Pump Fire Drill; g, Meat Hooks; h, j, Toasting Forks.

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281 415 tail are tied together. The tension draws the strip of bamboo against the belt, closing the opening (Fig. 5, d). Similar belts are used by the southeast coast tribes but are rare or lacking elsewhere in Madagascar.

POTTERY

323 173 According to the legends and traditions of the Tanala Menabe, the Zafimaniry were the only gens of that division to manufacture or use pottery in ancient times. Later, several other gentes learned the art from them and from the Betsileo, but they never became good potters and abandoned clay vessels as soon as iron pots became common. It is remembered that the pottery was limited to crude cooking pots except among the Zafimaniry, who had bowls and water jars as well, but the methods of manufacture and even the shapes have been forgotten.

[114] According to the manuscript of Sadaro Antoine the Tanala Ikongo manufactured cooking pots as recently as twenty years ago. The ware is said to have been hard and well fired. It was given a black, glossy finish by rubbing it with graphite.

A number of Madagascar tribes, including all those on the east coast, make no pottery. Other tribes, who now use it, say that they have only begun to do so within the last five or six generations. It seems probable that it was introduced into Madagascar in relatively [177] late times. The local center for its diffusion seems to be among the Imerina and Betsileo, in the plateau, with a possible second center among the northern Sakalava, on the west coast.

METHODS OF COOKING

252 In describing the methods of Tanala cooking it is necessary to distinguish between the ancient methods, in vogue before the introduction of pottery and later of iron pots and toasting forks, and those now in use. At present the former survive only as a part of ceremonial, or as makeshifts used in the absence of proper utensils.

Traditionally, the earliest method of preparing rice was to crack the grains and toast them over a fire. This survives as a feature of the harvest sacrifice (see Agriculture), but is otherwise obsolete. Later, rice and other vegetable foods were boiled in large joints of green bamboo. The joint was propped up in an open fire and the food would be cooked before it burned through.

Meat was laid on a bed of coals or cooked in a sort of earth-oven called *anlongatra*. A hole was dug and lined with large leaves. The

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meat was cut, each piece wrapped in leaves, and the whole packed in. Stones, heated in a near-by fire, were placed on top and the whole covered with more leaves, but no earth or embers. The moisture from the meat and leaves made a little broth, which collected in the bottom of the hole. This method continued in use long after the introduction of pottery and one locality is still known as Antongatra because it was the usual practice of the people living there. 252

Calves or small cattle were sometimes cooked whole by means of thick spongy vines of two species called *rahipika* and *rahimarana*. The ends of two or three of these vines were inserted into each nostril and into the anus, while the other ends were put in a fire. The hot sap and steam conducted into the animal in this way cooked it thoroughly. It is said that this method is still used by cattle thieves when they wish to devour their booty on the spot.

At the present time nearly all food is boiled in iron pots obtained from the traders. Such pots are highly valued and when a Tanala leaves his own territory to work in a town he will usually purchase one with his first wages. Some native families have a number of them displayed on the shelf above the fireplace as a sign of wealth. They are readily loaned to neighbors or travelers, but etiquette requires that the borrower leave a little food in the pot when he returns it. Pots are supported in the fire by a low tripod made from three pointed stones bedded in the earth of the fireplace. 415 [177] [556] [426]

The amount of rice to be cooked for a meal is measured out by means of a small, stiff basket. This is of standard size and holds slightly more than the cup used as a unit in our own recipes. One measure of dry rice is allowed for each adult, with a smaller measure for each child. In some houses I saw a number of graduated rice measures, used for children of different ages. 252 [804]

The rice, which has previously been pounded and winnowed, is washed until the water drains off clear. It is then put in the pot with about twice its amount of water. It is allowed to boil dry. Most of the grains are crisp and flaky, but a layer of burned rice adheres to the vessel. After the unburned rice has been taken out, water is put in the pot, stirred and brought to a boil. This water, which tastes somewhat like weak coffee, is drunk with the meal and is considered a delicacy. As a luxury, rice may be boiled with milk or broth. It is rarely if ever salted while cooking.

Although boiled rice is the staple diet, it is never served without a side dish of some sort to give it flavor. Even the very poor have boiled greens, made from the leaves and shoots of a great variety 262

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262 of plants. Thick stews of beans or ground nuts are the commonest accompaniment. Sweet potatoes are also eaten with rice, but manioc rarely is, because it is too tasteless.

252 Eggs, meat and fish are considered luxuries. Eggs are always boiled. Large fish are allowed to boil dry and then browned in their own grease. Meat is usually boiled, the broth forming an important part of the meal. Iron meat hooks with ornamental handles are used to remove it from the pot (Fig. 5, g). Meat may also be cut into thin steaks and broiled over a bed of coals. Iron toasting forks with three, five or seven tines are used for this (Fig. 5, h, j). At the present time, broiling is not popular, partly because much of the fat is lost and partly because of the extreme toughness of the native beef.

263 The only materials used for seasoning are potash, salt and chilies. The potash is a substitute for salt and now that the latter has become cheap and plentiful it is only used for variety. The natives say that it must be taken sparingly, as it is bad for the digestion. Potash is made by burning the roots of a certain rush, mixing the ashes with water, and straining off the liquor. The strainers are of matting, triangular at the rim and tapering to a point (Fig. 6, a). The liquor is put in shallow, wooden bowls and allowed to evaporate. The potash is pale gray and granular and is readily crumbled with the fingers.

263 [258] 439 Salt has always been obtained in trade. Formerly it came from the east coast, where the natives made it by evaporating sea water. It brought a high price locally and Tanala who left their territory to serve as bearers would bring back as much of it as they could. Even now it has an exaggerated [illegible]e in the eyes of the natives. Traders told me that a handful of salt given with a purchase would delight them more than a gift of three or four times its real value.

263 The native salt comes in large, creamy white crystals. It is somewhat coarser than that we use in making ice cream. It often contains earth and other impurities and the Tanala dissolve it, pass it through strainers like those used in potash making, and then recrystallize it. It is kept in small gourds, joints of bamboo, or little sacks of cloth or matting.

● 415 263 The salt has to be crushed before use and every household has one or more small wooden mortars for the purpose. These mortars are commonly shaped like an hourglass and have a tight-fitting cover (Fig. 6, c). Sometimes two mortars are joined side by side, one being used for salt and the other for chilies (Fig. 6, d). There

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FIG. 6. Utensils. a, Salt Strainer: b, c, d, Salt Mortars; e, Bamboo Condiment Box; f, Basket Rice Dish; g, Pandanus Leaf Dish; h, Leaf Dish; j, Leaf Spoon.

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415 263 are a few other forms and one rectangular salt mortar, with a handle, was collected (Fig. 6, b).

The native chilies are small, rarely over an inch in length, and bright red. They are extremely hot. The natives pound them up, seeds and all, in mortars similar to those used for salt. They are usually taken fresh from the bushes, which seem to be in bearing most of the year, but are occasionally dried.

Salt and chilies are sprinkled over the food after it has been served, each person seasoning his portion according to his taste.

UTENSILS

415 184 In describing Tanala utensils it is necessary to distinguish between the Zafimaniry gens, with its immediate neighbors, and the other members of the tribe. The Zafimaniry, who are recent immigrants from the plateau, resemble the Betsileo in their extensive use of wooden utensils and drinking horns. These have been diffused to the gentes in contact with them. The other Tanala gentes rarely use wooden utensils and have no drinking horns. In this respect they resemble the tribes of the east coast.

It seems curious that in a heavily forested region the only group to use wooden utensils should be one which has come from an area in which wood is much less abundant, but there are other anomalies as well. None of the Tanala employ bark utensils, although there is plenty of good material available. Gourds, which grow well in the region, are very little used. The Menabe have practically no gourd utensils. The Ikongo use gourds for milk bottles, but this is probably in imitation of the Bara.

415 314 264 All the Tanala, except the Zafimaniry, serve their boiled rice on small square mats or in shallow rectangular baskets (Fig. 6, f). The basket or mat is first covered with a layer of green leaves. Liquids are served in short joints of bamboo or in leaf dishes. These dishes are made from pandanus or other long, broad leaves which are folded to make an oblong receptacle. Usually the ends of the leaf are simply turned up and tied (Fig. 6, h). There are a few well-made dishes of pandanus in which the ends are cut short, folded and sewn together. A narrow splint of bamboo is used to reinforce the end (Fig. 6, g). Spoons are made from strips of leaf, folded and tied (Fig. 6, j). All except the sewn dishes are made from green leaves and renewed at every meal.

415 Large wooden ladles are used by all the Tanala for dishing food from the pot (Fig. 7, d). Some of those used at feasts and sacrifices

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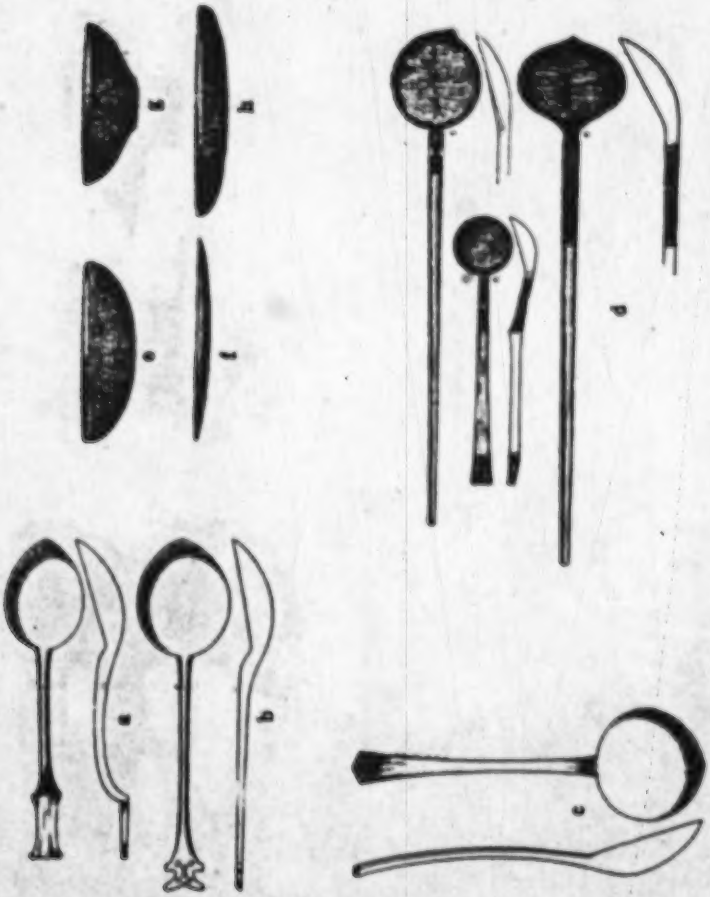

FIG. 7. Wooden Utensils. a, b, c, Wooden Spoons; d, Wooden Rice Ladles; e, f, g, h, Wooden Bowls; i, Spoon Hanger.

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415 are nearly 3 feet long. At the present time, families often have one or two wooden bowls, but these have mostly been gotten in trade. White enamel ware and metal spoons are just beginning to come into common use.

The Zafimaniry do not use mats for serving rice and have no leaf dishes or spoons. Small, finely woven baskets are sometimes used for individual servings of rice, but this is not common. All food is regularly served in wooden bowls or platters. These vary considerably in size and depth and may be either round or oval (Fig. 7, e, f, g, h). Bowls sometimes have a low base. In several specimens there is a small lug protruding from one side, just below the rim: A loop of cord is passed through this and the bowl is hung up by it when not in use. Oblong bowls or platters, with four short legs, are used for cutting up and serving meat (Fig. 8, a, b).

412 One of the most characteristic Zafimaniry utensils is that used for grating ginger root. It is long and narrow, with four short legs and a spout (Fig. 8, d). In the center of the bottom, a number of [53] small bone studs are set in the form of a rosette. The shape is said to represent a crocodile, but none of my informants knew the significance of this. The ginger graters are used in preparing some kinds of medicine.

415 Two unique specimens were collected: a small platter with a design carved on the bottom in relief (Fig. 8, c), and a small, finely [53] made bowl with a close-fitting cover and cords for suspension. The latter was used as a trinket box (Fig. 8, e).

The Zafimaniry use small wooden spoons. The shape is much like that of European ones, except for the decorative handle (Fig. 7, a, b, c). Horn and bone spoons seem to be unknown, although they are commonly used by the Betsileo.

[321] The horns of cattle are used as drinking and libation cups. The finest, used in ceremonies, are nearly 2 feet long. The horns are scraped and polished and their tips are sometimes carved into simple forms. One specimen, used as a libation horn, has a design of small circles incised a short distance below the rim (Fig. 9, a, b).

All the Tanala use sections of large bamboo, from 6 to 10 feet long, as water bottles. The septa are burned out with a hot iron. The open end of the bottle is usually cut at an angle, so as to form a sort of spout. The bottle is usually kept leaning against the wall in a corner of the house. When water is needed, one person tilts it while another holds a bowl below.

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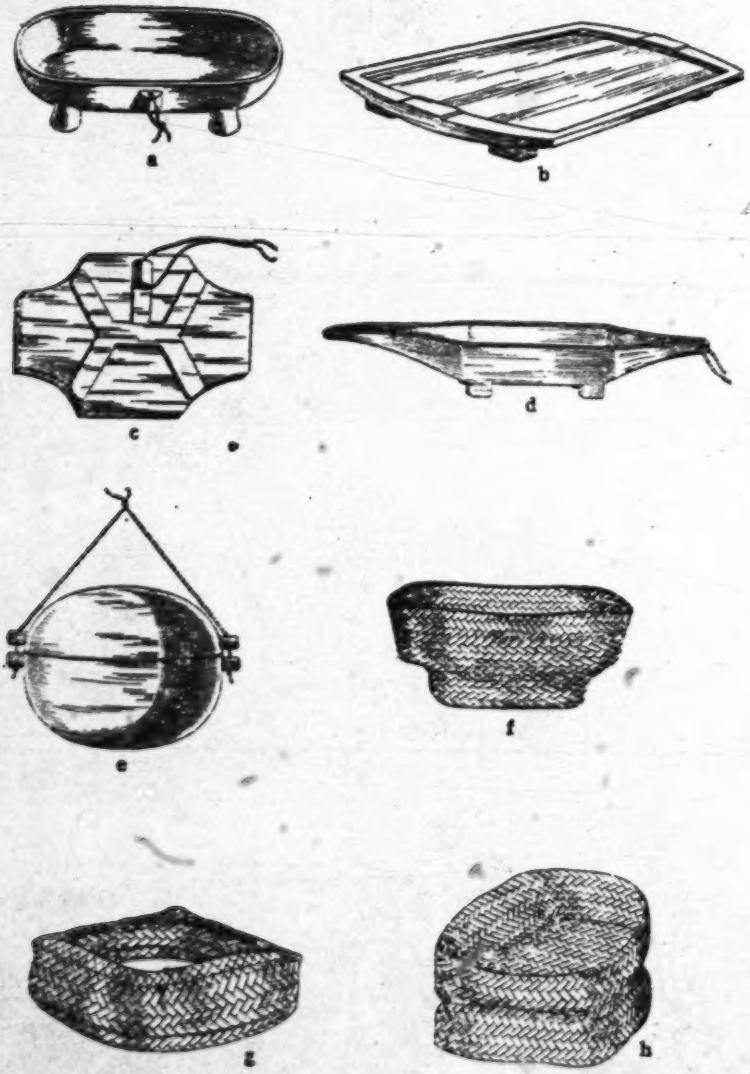

FIG. 8. Wooden Utensils and Dish Rests. a, Oval Bowl; b, Platter for Cutting Meat; c, Platter for Cutting Meat (Bottom); d, Ginger Grater; e, Covered Bowl; f, g, h, Basket Dish Rests.

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Fig. 9. Drinking Horns, Pipes and Snuff Boxes. a, Drinking Horn; b, Libation Horn; c, Water Pipe; d, Tobacco Leaves; e, Tubular Pipe; f, Snuff Box or Purse of Horn; g, Snuff Box of Wood, Bamboo; h, Gourd Snuff Box; j, Snuff Horn; k, Bone Snuff Bottle; l, Bamboo Snuff Box.

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322 commonly decorated. The house carvings are made after the house
531 has been erected and the owner will work on them intermittently for years.

The other Tanala gentes carve very little. Some of the Menabe blacken the edges of wooden bowls and sections on the handles of wooden ladles by charring them with a hot iron and rubbing the surface smooth. Simple designs are then cut through the black layer into the underlying white wood (Fig. 7, d). Such decorations are very striking when the utensil is new, but soon disappear with use. A similar technique is used by the tribes of the southeast coast and those of the extreme south, and is also common in Africa. It seems to be a recent introduction among the Tanala.

The handles of wooden spoons are given ornamental shapes and are sometimes decorated with series of small incised circles. This form of decoration is much commoner on horn and bone and the method of making the circles is described in that section.

WORK IN HORN, BONE AND HIDE

321 Animal products are of little importance in Tanala industry. All
415 the horn, bone and hide used is obtained from cattle. Cow horns are occasionally used as containers for fire making sets (Fig. 5, e) and charms (Fig. 23, e). There are also a few horn snuff bottles (Fig. 9, j) and small horn boxes, used as snuff boxes or purses (Fig. 9, f). Only the Zafimaniry use horns as drinking and libation cups (Fig. 9, a, b). In all except the charms and drinking cups, the large end of the horn is closed by a carefully fitted wooden stopper, smoothly rounded on the outside. This stopper is held in place by small pins of horn or bone, cut off flush with the outer surface. Similar pins are sometimes used to fasten the bottoms of small wooden boxes.

321 None of my informants knew of any method for softening horn so that it could be twisted and spread, but the small horn boxes could not have been made in any other way. Probably the material was scraped thin and then softened by boiling. Ordinarily the horn is cut into shape with knives, scraped to remove the loose, fibrous surface, and then rubbed smooth with some abrasive. Lastly, it is oiled and polished. The final polishing is done with leaves which contain crystals of silica. Horn objects are nearly always well made and often show a fine, glossy finish.

Bone is used even less than horn. Snuff bottles are sometimes made from sections of long bones with wooden stoppers fixed in the